1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 18]

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854
576

Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle 272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis- 825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone 752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief 776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally, 576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the 231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle, [782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

576 231 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting" [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

231 Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are considered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised [281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi [262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have [262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but [231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

276 If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the
●576 desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the
● [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 554 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable differences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 643 554 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 576 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good
health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
[71] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

431 576 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano) play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

[563]

796 794 575 [576] Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

796 794 575 535 Now the dance begins under the direction of a female leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

796 794 575 786 The women are usually particularly skillful in this role. The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head, which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells. Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially expected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only defences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

[141]

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 556 181 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
●576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is customary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his